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SUBJECT: ELECTION OF FAO DIRECTOR-GENRAL

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SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: NEW ZEALAND "FLOATING" OF POSSIBLE NOMINATION OF ERIC OJALA AS CANDIDATE FOR DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF FAO, AND APRIL 10 DEADLINE OF NOMINATIONS MAKE IT TIMELY FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR FORMUALTE ITS POSITION ON THIS ELECTION. JUDGMENT WILL HAVE TO BE MADE BASICALLY IN WASHINGTON, WHERE ALL FACTORS CAN BE CONSIDERED AND DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER UN ORGANIZATIONS CAN BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO FAO AND HIS DEPUTY NONETHELESS WISH TO PRESENT SOME KEY THOUGHTS AS INPUT TO THIS CONSIDERATION. THEIR ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION LEADS THEM TO RECOMMEND THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT SERIOUSLY CONSIDER URGENT EFFORTS TO SOLICIT CANDIDACY OF MORE HIGHLY-QUALIFIED CANDIDATE, BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THAT PRESENT COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS WILL PRODUCE FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL WHO WILL NOT MEASURE UP TO REQUIREMENTS SET FOR JOB BY WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE.

1. DIFFERENCE OF FAO FROM OTHER UN AGENCIES. IN CONSIDERED OPINION OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE AND DEPTUY, FAO DIFFERS CON-
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SIDERABLY IN DEGREE FROM NORM OF UN AGENCIES IN MAY RESPECTS.

ITS WORK IS HIGHLY TECHNICAL-AGRICULTURAL. MOST OF DELEGATES TO CONFERENCES AND MAJOR POLICY BODIES COME FROM AGRICULTURE MINISTRIES. FOR THESE REASONS, FAO IS SOMEWHAT LESS POLITICIZED THAN OTHER UN AGENCIES. MOREOVER, U.S. NOT ONLY HOLDS PREDOMINANT ROLE IN FOOD-AGRICULTURE ACTIVITIES, BUT THIS ROLE IS ALSO CLEARLY RECOGNIZED BY ALMOST ALL COUNTRIES. REPRESENTATIVE OF ANOTHER COUNTRY RECENTLY COUNSELLED THAT UNITED STATES SHOULD DECIDE SOON ON QUESTION OF FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL, BECAUSE IF IT DID NOT VOTE RIGHT WAY THIS WOULD PREJUDICE ITS RELATIONS WITH FAO. THIS MAY BE TRUE OF MANY COUNTRIES, BUT IN OPINION OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IT IS COMPLETELY INAPPLICABLE TO UNITED STATES. U.S. ROLE IN AGRICULTURE IS SO PREDOMINANT THAT UNITED STATES CAN COMMAND ATTENTION BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER ELECTIONS, NO MATTER WHO WINS WHETHER UNITED STATES HAS VOTED FOR HIM OR NOT. ACTIVE U.S. COLLABORATION IS NECESSARY FOR ANY MAJOR INTERNATIONAL FOOD-AGRICULTURE ACTIVITY. THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY CREATE A CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP, SINCE ANY MAJOR INTERNATIONAL FOOD-AGRICULTURE ACTIVITY NECESSARILY INVOLVES COMMITMENTS OF U.S. RESOURCES. FAO AND ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, MUST AND DO GIVE SERIOUS AND RESPECTFUL ATTENTION TO U.S. POLICIES.

2. WORLD FOOD CRISIS - THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS HAS BEEN DRAMATIZED IN THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER. MANY INVOLVED WERE QUITE CRITICAL OF FAO AND ITS PERFORMANCE. WHATEVER MAY BE THE MERITS OF THESE CRITICISMS, IT IS CLEAR THAT NOT MUCH WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED TO ACHIEVE THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE UNLESS FAO IS REVITALIZED AND ORGANIZED TO FULFILL THEM. THE NEXT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF FAO WILL FACE REQUIREMENTS GREATLY EXCEEDING THOSE OF HIS PREDECESSORS. ARRANGEMENTS OF SUBSTANTIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL NATURE WILL NECESSARILY BE MADE BY OUTGOING DIRECTOR-GENERAL BOERMA, BUT NEW DIRECTOR-GENERAL WILL BE CHARGED WITH CARRYING OUT THESE PROGRAMS.

3. CAPACITIES OF CANDIDATES - WE WOULD RANK THE PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES IN FOLLOWING ORDER AS TO CAPACITIES: OJALA OF NEW ZEALAND, BUKAR SHAIB OF NIGERIA, SAMUEL SEY OF GHANA, FRANCISCO AQUINO OF EL SALVADOR, AND SAOUMA OF LEBANON. (WE ARE NOT CONSIDERING YRIART OF URUGUAY OR FAO COUNCIL CHARMAN BULA-HOYOS OF COLOMBIA, SINCE AQUINO APPEARS TO HAVE SOLID LATIN AMERICAN

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SUPPORT, NOR DO WE CREDIT OCCASIONAL RUMORS THAT BOERMA MAY BE OPEN TO A DRAFT FOR RE-ELECTION), THIS RANKING IS ADMITTEDLY SUBJECTIVE. OJALA HAS EXCELLENT PROFESSIONAL TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE IN UN AND FAO WORK. WE DO NOT KNOW BUKAR SHAIB PERSONALLY, BUT COLLEAGUES HERE RANK HIM AS QUITE CAPABLE. SAOUMA HAS WEAKEST CREDENTIALS OF CAPACITIES, AND HOLD ONLY D-2 JOB IN FAO.

4. U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ASSESSMENT. NONE OF PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES, IN OUR OPINION, COMES CLOSE TO MEASURING UP TO NEW REQUIREMENTS OF FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL POSITION, EVEN ALLOWING FOR POSSIBILITY THAT CRITICAL DEMANDS OF POSITION MIGHT BRING OUT HIGHER PERFORMANCE THAN WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPECTED. OJALA, AQUINO, AND SAOUMA (WE DO NOT KNOW SHAIB OR SEY PERSONALLY) DO NOT HAVE REPUTATION FOR PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION, WHICH WE CONSIDER PRIME QUALIFICATION ABOVE EVEN TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN AGRICULTURAL MATTERS. PRESENT FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL BOERMA TOLD SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM EARLY THIS MONTH (REF B, PARA4) THAT HE BELIEVED FAO'S FUTURE REQUIRED EFFORT TO OBTAIN SUCCESSOR OF HIGHER QUALIFICATIONS THAN FOUR CANDIDATES (NOT INCLUDING OJALA) NOW IN RUNNING. WE STRONGLY AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT, AND FOR THAT REASON RECOMMEND THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT CONSIDER MAKING URGENT EFFORTS TO BRING FORTH STRONGER CANDIDATE.

5. PROSPECTS OF LDC CANDIDATES. OUR OWN ASSESSMENT OF PROSPECTS FOR ELECTION RANKS CANDIDATES AS FOLLOWS: SAOUMA, AQUINO, OJALA, AND AFRICAN CANDIDATES. SAOUMA HAS LONGEST LIST OF COUNTRIES SUPPORTING HIM, INCLUDING REPORTEDLY FRANCE AND ITALY AS WELL AS MOSLEM COUNTRIES. THIS SUPPORT MAY NOT BE IRON-CLAD. EGYPT, FOR EXAMPLE, IS REPORTED NOT TO BE HAPPY ABOUT MOSLEM SUPPORT FOR MARIONITE CHRISTIAN. BUT UNDER FAO SYSTEM OF VOTING, HIS EARLY VOTES SHOULD EASILY CARRY SAOUMA TO FINAL STAGE AND GIVE HIM GREAT ADVANTAGE. AQUINO IS USING HIS WORLD FOOD PROGRAM POSITION TO GOOD ADVANTAGE IN CAMPAIGNING, AS BOERMA DID BEFORE HIM. HE APPEARS TO HAVE SOLID LATIN AMERICAN SUPPORT, AND WILL SURELY FIGHT ON TO END, BUT HIS VOTE TALLY DOES NOT MEASURE UP TO SAOUMA'S. AFRICAN CANDIDATES ARE WEAKEST POLITICALLY, BECAUSE THEY ARE DIVIDED AND BECAUSE THEIR PRIORITY OF CLAIM WITHIN GROUP 77 HAS BEEN LOWERED BY RECENT ELECTION OF AFRICAN IN UNESCO. POLITICS OF SITUATION THEREFORE TENDS TO GIVE HIGHEST CHANCES TO

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LEAST QUALIFIED OF CANDIDATES.

6. PROSPECTS FOR WEO CANDIDATE. ALTHOUGH NORMAL TENDENCY IN UN CIRCLES AND IN DEALING WITH WORLD FOOD CRISIS IS TO THINK IN TERMS OF LEADERSHIP BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, OUTSTANDING CANDIDATE FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE GOOD PROSPECT. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE THAT PROGRESS IN MEETING WORLD FOOD PROBLEMS DEPENDS UPON ACTIVE SUPPORT OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, AND POSSIBLY WOULD BE WILLING TO YIELD LEADERSHIP TO DEVELOPED COUNTRIES FOR THAT REASON. REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES INDICATED TO FAO DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL THAT HEY MIGHT BE WILLING TO SUPPORT U.S. CANDIDATE FOR THIS REASON. DANGER IN PUTTING FORWARD AMERICAN CANDIDATE WOULD BE THAT IT WOULD CARRY IMPLICATIONS AND INFERENCES OF INCREASED AMERICAN ACTIVITY IN INTERNATIONAL FOOD PROGRAMS WHICH UNITED STATES GOVERN-

MENT MAY NOT BE WILL OR ABLE TO UNDERTAKD. SWEDISH OR SWISS CANDIDATE WOULD BE SOMEWHAT MORE PALATABLE TO GROUP-77 THAN U.S. OR OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN CANDIDATE. NEW ZEALAND ALSO HAS GOOD PROFILE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT OJALA IS NOT THE MAN TO RALLY AROUND, BECAUSE HE IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY MORE CAPABLE OR PRESTIGIOUS THAN OTHER CANDIDATES TO BREAK DOWN SUPPORT ALREADY COMMITTED TO THEM. NEW CANDIDATE FROM WEO AREA OF RECOGNIZEDLY OUTSTANDING ABILITY, HOWEVER, WOULD PROBABLY HAVE GOOD PROSPECTS.

7. ABILITY RATHER THA POLITICAL ORIENTATION PRIMARY CONSIDERATION PRIMARY U.S. OBJECTIVE, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT BE TO OBTAIN ELECTION OF CANDIDATE FROM WEO, BUT RATHER SIMPLY TO OBTAIN ELECTION OF MOST HIGHLY CAPABLE MAN. IT DOES NOT MATTER GREATLY IF HE IS FROM ANOTHER POLITICAL BLOC, SINCE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WEO COUNTRIES CAN ALWAYS AFFECT FAO EFFORTS FUNDAMENTALLY BY THEIR OWN POLICIES, AND WILL BE LISTENED TO.

8. DESIRABILITY OF FINDING MAN OUTSIDE FAO. FOR TWO REASONS, IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE TO FIND STRONG CANDIDATE FROM OUTSIDE FAO CIRCLES, UNLIKE PRESENT MAIN CONTENDERS. MEN WHO RISE UP WITHIN AN ORGANIZATION TEND TO DEVELOP CLIQUES. THIS HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY BAD DURING BOERMA ADMINISTRATION, IN WHICH HIS AIDES SELECT INFORMATION GIVEN HIM, AND MORALE IS AT LOW EBB. MANY FAO OFFICIALS AND COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVES AND DELEGATES REMINISCE MOST ALGICALLY ABOUT BRAHMINISTIC ADMINISTRATION.

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TION OF BOERMA'S PREDECESSOR SEN, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS MUCH MALIGNED IN CLOSE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. SECOND REASON FOR WANTING OUTSIDER IS THAT CLEANING OUT OF COBWEBS AND DEAD-WOOD IN BUREAUCRACY CAN RARELY BE EXPECTED FROM WITHIN BUREAUCRACY.

9. DESIRABILITY OF MAN WITH GENERAL UN EXPERIENCE. FAO WILL HAVE TO WORK MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH OTHER UN ORGANIZATIONS THAN IN PAST IF IT IS TO MEET NEW DEMANDS BEING IMPOSED UPON IT. WORLD FOOD COUNCIL AND ITS SECRETARIAT WILL HELP IN THIS RESPECT, BUT IT WOULD BE OF GREAT BENEFIT IF FAO DIRECTOR-GENERAL HIMSELF HAD GOOD BACKGROUND IN OTHER UN OPERATIONS. IN OUR OPINION, HE NEED NOT HAVE PARTICULAR CREDENTIALS IN AGRICULTURE: EPERIENCE IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES WULD BE ALMOST EQUALLY RELEVANT. VOLPE

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